1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, however, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac. The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nong-ai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase, the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

mantris sit. This durbar must not be confused with the electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is an executive council over which the Siem presides, and also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis. The Siem manages the State business through his *mantris*, although it is true that in some States the members of the Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is an official styled *lyngskor*, who is the superior of a number of village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*, mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's private income. The contribution varies in amount according to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khrong*), which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Myllieu, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
428 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
614 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
793 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantris*),

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantris*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*sirdars*), or the chief superintendents (*basans*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrim State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongspung, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

643 occurring in the Siemship, three *lyngdohs* and two *mantris* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined *durbar* then decides who is to become
173 Siem. In Nongspung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
643 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongspung, which was then ruled by two *lyngdohs*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdohs* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State, of which Nongspung became the capital, and over which U Sngi Shaflong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdohs*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongspung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus annexed.

643 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six *basans*
[443] appointed the Siem, subject to the approval of the people of the
614 Siemship. In the Nobosohpoh State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawsynram the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Maharam and Nobosohpoh, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[441] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhawal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhawal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

(*kylla*) the fire-brand (*lyngkot*) in order to keep themselves warm in this month, hence its name *kylla-lyngkot*.

U Rymphang, the windy month, corresponding with February.

U Lyber, March. In this month the hills are again clothed with verdure, and the grass sprouts up (*lyber*), hence the name of the month, u *Lyber*.

U Iaiong, April. This name may possibly be a corruption of u *bynai-iong*, i.e. the black moon, the changeable weather month.

U Jymmang, May. This is the month when the plant called by the Khasis *u'lew jymmang*, or snake-plant, blooms, hence the name.

U Jylliew. The deep water month, the word *jylliew* meaning deep. This corresponds to June.

U nditwng. The evil-smelling month, when the vegetation rots owing to excessive moisture. This corresponds with July.

U'ndilar. The month when the weather is supposed to become clear, *synlar*, and when the plant called *ja'ndilar* blooms. This is August.

U'ndi-lur. September. The month for weeding the ground.

U Ri-siw. The month when the Autumn tints first appear, literally, when the country, *ri*, becomes red, *siw*. This is October.

U'ndi wieng. The month when cultivators fry the produce of their fields in *wieng* or earthen pots, corresponding with November.

U Nob-prih. The month when the *prih* or baskets for carrying the crops are put away (*buh nah*). Another interpretation given by Bivar is "the month of the fall of the leaf." December.

The Khasi week has the peculiarity that it almost universally consists of eight days. The reason of the eight-day week is because the markets are usually held every eighth day. The names of the days of the week are not those of planets, but of places where the principal markets are held, or used to be held, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The following are the names of the days of the week and of the principal markets in the district:—

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lyngkhim (Sarpani or Khawang)	Kyllan. (Suhiong).
2. Nongkrem	Pyrsang.
3. Um-ling (Mawlong the last at Laban)	Maulong. (Narliang).
4. Rangbah (Iew-lah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Umsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Mawiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Mookhai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynthai. (Myrsai).
7. Umsih	Thyrn-liein.
8. Iew-dah (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the *War* country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawlong, Tyllap, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-masjai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNGAMS.

Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lyngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lyngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lyngams is *Megam*. There are several *Megam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lyngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lyngams must not be confused with the *Bhoi* or *Nindaisiya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the Khasis *Bhoi*. All Lyngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lyngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lyngams *Nirajpá* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lynngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both ~~sexes being~~ not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lynngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-maroag*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *kur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, bead their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lynngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pieng blei* (god's necklace).

5:Stegmiller-4 a~~,5(no date)1926 AK7Khasi AA7

[703]

The Market Life of the Khasi
(with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.V.D., Munich

The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided accord-

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 489 ff.

ing to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

How much the Khasi depend on a thriving market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kou and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

rate, so that once in every year a sacrifice can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will live happily and be wealthy and increase in numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets will enjoy progress and success, and the children of the kingdom will spread out and increase in thy name and to thy honour."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyagbon rangbah) pours rice liquor (se sisi wa) out of a gourd bottle (u sing) onto the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (se bisi jeu lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop, so (is it not so)!" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Ghasi" [Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Ghasi], Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien [Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society], Vol. LIV (1924).

"They" among the Ghasi, the women [the market personnel] are so in the majority among the selling personnel that it is tempting to consider them the founders of the markets. Many provisions form the chief articles of the market, and these are grown by the women, who may be the owners of the women themselves the market. The masculine element certainly participates actively in the market, but only dealing in such articles as belong to him especially, such as dishes of iron which he has made or goats and sheep which he has raised. Although the men as an average only go to

• 443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
444 view, (3) that they would consider market busi-

3. F.C. Coiner, S.D.S., Helvetorianische Mitteilungen (Helvetorian Communications), 1911, No. 4, p. 62.

ness beneath their dignity. If they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and scornful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Scene

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
444 local markets. Sold are: rice (shou), dried fish (ion sna), potatoes (pnar), sugar cane (ion shang; botanical name: Flemingia vestita Benth); Job's tears (u ion riew; botanical name coix lacryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai ryn, botanical name: setaeria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: panicum frumentale); eraelis millet (u 'rai trah, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two [illegible] (u rymbai ja, botanical name: pesculus

Stegmiller—, 6—4,5(no date)1925 ARTAXERXES?

(Calcareatum) and (u rymbai atung, botanical name: glycine soja); corn (u 'riewhadom); pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh mynding); oranges (u soh niantre); mangoes (u soh pieng); palms (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh kpu, botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Assai cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus ferrugines); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh arit); chilis (u soh myngkeen); papayas (u soh symphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon (ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia); nutmeg (u jai phol); ginger (u 'sieng); honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, drinking manure, spades for the field (sumbia); (Khasi knives (ka wait)); (Kha: 6/2 F.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. market troops. They go in groups for fear of murderers (Lalang omars)) (Kha: 5/2 F.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman carrying beans on the way to the market at Cherrapunji) (Kha: 6/3 F.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The 'umbrella' is placed between the back and the burden) (Kha: 5/2 F.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. on the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane) (Kha: 5/2 F.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi travelling to the market in Jaintia)

[illegible] [illegible]

903 [104: I]. P.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.]
938 [104: O]. P.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: Selling meat.] [104: H]. P.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [104: I]. P.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Dawkhi.] [104: J]. P.a. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Laitkynsew. Material for roofing.] [105] plaited baskets in all sizes, waterproof plaited containers, carrying baskets (tanpa), bands for the forehead (a star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bottles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of cocoanuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass, cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes; everything is the work of the Khasi.

Secondly European wares, such as loin cloths, coverings, caps, combs, mirrors, mouth organicas, matches, and cigarettes are also seen in larger amounts.

903 At the markets of the Khasi not only food-
904 stuffs and other things necessary for life may
905 be obtained, but workers are also hired there. Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the market and stands around, hoping to find some kind of work for the coming (market) week. Day laborers can only be hired at the market. Therefore it is hard during the week to get any kind of a worker. It is also necessary when hiring at the market to hire the worker for the whole "market week," i.e., until the next market day, as the coolies otherwise would have a hard time finding work and would not accept the work at all for only one or two days. The porters received for traveling

[Use photo belonging to MS ---]

Stegmiller-11 N-4-5(no date)1928 ART Khasi ART

5:Stegmiller-12 M-4,5(no date)1926 ART:Class1ART

• 443

[illegible]

5:Stegmiller-13 N-4,5(no date)1926 AR7Kino1AR7

443

[700 W]

5:Stegmiller-14 M-4,5(no date)1926 ART/KhasiART

• 443

[illegible] 17

5:Stegmiller-15 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

● 443

[Vol 3]

5:Stegmiller-16 A-4,5(no date)1928 AR7/Khasi/AR7

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 493

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u ster). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [484] 443 482 438 285 443 [201]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

laden themselves with more than 60 to 65 pounds.

Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [706] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

ester pipes are smoked during the rests.

b) The Market Place. It is not possible to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawsynram is quite isolated. Also the one in

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 341
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the
memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the
wares. But in many places there are also
market halls or market huts. These are
simple halls, open on all sides, made with a
framework of bamboo poles and a roof of
straw or palm leaves. The market huts or
market halls are built with square corners
and have gabled roofs. They offer the women
sellers protection from the sun or rain only,
but no other comforts. Neither tables nor
chairs nor other arrangements for displaying
wares are there. On the side where the wind
blows these market halls are often covered
with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 442
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can
be recognized at every market. This division
could be called a division according to sex.
In the middle the food stuffs are usually
sold which the women take care of. Utensils
and cattle which are the business of the men,
are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a
definite arrangement to the market which is
taken for granted by the chaste in the middle
the women, outside the men (there is a similar
order for the dance: in the middle the feminine
sex, outside the masculine sex). The individual
types of wares have their definite
places, although individual sellers are not
assigned definite places.

The women settle down at the place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the
market. They spread out in front of them the

food provisions which they have brought to sell. They sit close to each other and form long lines which double or treble when the market is heavily attended. There is little room for the visitors to the market, who must work their way through the wares that are spread out and through the women sellers who are sitting so close together. A woman seldom sits off to one side. Since there is no stealing at the market, sitting apart is also unnecessary, although a better view of the wares that are laid out for sale would be obtained.

The large objects, such as bamboo and beer are always set up on the outer side of the market and sold there even when the selling is managed by women (which is an exception).

c) Selecting the Time. 1. Choosing the market day. The Khasi have a week that is eight or four days long. Every eight (5) days

5. P.F. Stegmiller, "Pfeilschiessen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi" [Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1925, pp. 613 ff.

there is a large market and every fourth day there is a small market, always at the same place. The large and the small markets are also held daily, but at different places in a certain district. In this district or defined area the market days for the various villages are so determined that they never coincide with each other, and each Khasi can attend this market or that one as he wishes. The sequence of the markets is regulated so precisely that every Khasi knows exactly where a market is being held at the moment. The days are also named from the markets that are to be held. They do not talk about a Sunday or a Wednesday, but of the

...ew Duh (large market) in Shillong, in Nongkrem, ... 443 ●
...n Umlong, in Nangkhew, in Pomtiah, in Lamin, ... 505
...etc. Thus each day is precisely established, and
...at the same time the market for the place con-
...cerned.

In the territory of the War the markets are held every fourth day in the following order: In Nongjiri, in Mawbeng, in Tyllap and in Shella. Here the week days are either named according to the market days or they say: the day before the market day, the market day, the day after the market day and the day between the markets. Every Khasi in this district knows then without any doubt which day is meant.

2. Determining the time of day. As concerns the time of day during which the markets are held, no generally valid rule can be set up. This varies according to the individual places. In general from noon until late in the afternoon is the time for the chief market. The market places are usually still empty before 10 o'clock in the morning. The end is about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, if not earlier.

The duration of the markets results from what has been already said. In general [706] the duration of a large market is about six hours, while a small market lasts only about four hours.

f) Order at the Market or Market Peace. 443 719
Although there are no guards or other agents of order on duty at the Khasi markets, the great peace and order at even the largest Khasi markets seem most pleasant to everyone. I have never heard any complaint of foodstuffs or other objects for sale being stolen. The Khasi consider the market as something holy, as something to be respected, as something that belongs to everybody, which nobody can claim for his own. Attacks on a person's life also do not occur.

443 777 Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[1] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

443 784 111 Nearly all the men at the market are armed. The reason for this lies in the fact that the people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshohnoh), i.e., those who got out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

443 651 a) The Market Toll. All sellers who attend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (5--8--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

[1] [See category 116, pp 1-2--Analyst]

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 493 481

Toll is levied at the approaches to the market. Here and there is a toll hut where the people passing must pay their contribution. These receipts belong to the king in whose kingdom the market is located. These market tolls often form very good sources of income for the royal families, as the markets are held regularly and are well attended. In return for the market tolls the king must maintain the market halls (if there are any).

[709] b) Market Coercion. There is no actual market coercion. But nothing can be bought outside of the market, since the Khasi do not have any stores. Only in the larger villages are there one or two shops, which, however, do not count. These shops must all pay the "market toll" for all the articles which they sell at home with the exception of the sale of kiad, "rice liquor," which is never sold at the market.

c) Prices and Measures. The prices are based on supply and demand. They are freely determined by the sellers. It is not the custom to bargain and haggle. An exception is the price for the daily rice, which often causes quarrels. The sellers sit by their wares without shouting or praising. The visitors come to the market, look at the wares, touch them, weigh them in their hands, and finally ask about the price. 487

If the prices seems to them to be too high, they put the wares back in their places and go their way without making any remarks.

Coins are used for paying. The Khasi have the following names for the English-Indian money: 436

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc.

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority or an Ing

Among these successful matrilineal families, there are also discussions of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an ing. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or sister's) house, ing (his ing ses), and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his ing is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal ing, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his ing has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his ing. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jaringa, where the main economic activities were based on trading.

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large.

A man of Jaringa, who worked in a shop in Shillong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the ing and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his ing.

A man of authority is attached to his ing by the strongest ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

10 W-Comm 6-4, 9 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 109 A] AR7 Rhod AR7

clothing, operate the large Khoi business establishments in Gilling, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the gardening, and sell dried fish, hand mat, lime fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. Land tenure. Land was formerly divided into ab land and public domain. Ab land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the ab. The public domain was subject to unobstructed right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reclaimed all land abandoned or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. In new and most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Ab lands remain intact, unless the ab agrees to sell them, or all [71]

[71] (1911) 17). Descent. Descent is matrilineal, and the Khoi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. Kin groups. The maximal matrilineage is the ab. Ab is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Ab used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some abs are linked with others in large exogamous groups that are conceived and are termed ab[illegible] by foreigners. Such a group is composed of two or more abs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or close friends who out of affection declared that thereafter both their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of ab-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a ab will often disagree on whether or not their ab is linked with another. ● The maximal matrilineage is the local descent group or ang. This is the largest kin group that normally collects at life crises. It is said that the ang formerly spanned as generations, today it encompasses only four. If an ang grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the ang soon forgets exactly how it traces genealogical connections, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term ang may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khoi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which consist of ab local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9.1 **[illegible]**—The Chiefs and Subchiefs are mostly situated [illegible] nearly Equally [illegible] and their produce in the form are. They have enough [illegible] and markets at all [illegible] points of the Division to which they carry [illegible] under their produce for [illegible] for sale. The market days [illegible] to the [illegible] of people with headloads moving to the markets up and down hills from [illegible] areas.

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Sandwara' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Chota Bara' day which is held two days ahead of the Sandwara day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table 9.1 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charges per maund for transport of produces from the village to these markets.

TABLE 9.1

Average per maund from village to market	Distance from village to market				
	1 mile	1 to less than 5 miles	5 to 10 miles	10 to 15 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
South South					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

No. of villages served by—

	markets	
1	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]	[illegible]

20: Plaster C-4 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

delayed from the station. Adults will show as many as four or five bandicoots a day, with the usual accompaniment of pin hares. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 10s. a month.

Towns: Sections.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Pinji, and Shella. According to the Census of 1871, Shillong had only 1,383 inhabitants, Cherrá Pinji 453, and Jowai 4,000. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place has become the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Pinji; and what house was erected here as independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments of the Administration. The area of the Station is 3 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets in Khásí is held at Shillong; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the metropolis for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are steadily enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore eminently suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Cherrá. The cantonments were occupied in 1874 by the 44th Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three companies. The strength was 3 European officers, 18 native commissioned officers, 60 non-commissioned officers, 250 fighting men, and 38 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 370. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 1,83,000, or £18,300.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

against Rs. 17,000, or £1,130, twenty years earlier. The supply of ¶ 39
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca. ¶ 39

A curious feature in the trade of the Khási and Jáintia Hills is ¶ 41
the total absence of Márwárís or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even in the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, ¶ 43
are Shellígaon, Chháták, Lakhái, Jaintápur, Jaflong, Phaiflábári, Rámkrishnapur, Pánsirá, Shálpur, Shellighát, and Lungpur. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khási and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or hats are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khási week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

Capital.—Such little capital as the people possess is either ¶ 54
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dandi* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In grain advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator as something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in ¶ 316
the District carried on by European agency. ¶ 648

Revenue and Expenditure.—The revenue realized from the ¶ 648
Khási and Jáintia Hills has increased considerably in recent years. ¶ 651
As the Khási States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue is derived from the house tax. For 1883, when British authority was first established in the Khási Hills,